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PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL
STUDIES AT ATHENS.

DIONYSUS ἐν Λίμναις.*

The dispute over the number of Dionysiac festivals in the Attic calendar, more particularly with regard to the date of the so-called Lenaea, is one of long duration.¹ Boeckh maintained that the Lenaea were a separate festival celebrated in the month Gamelio. To this opinion August Mommsen in the *Heortologie* returns; and maintained as it is by O. Ribbeck,² by Albert Müller,³ by A. E. Haigh,⁴ and by G. Oehmichen,⁵ it may fairly be said to be the accepted theory to-day. This opinion, however, is by no means universally received. For example, O. Gilbert⁶ has attempted to prove that the country Dionysia, Lenaea, and Anthesteria were only parts of the same festival.

But while the date of the so-called Lenaea has been so long open to question, until recently it has been universally held that some portion at least of all the festivals at Athens in honor of the wine-god was held in the precinct by the extant theatre of Dionysus. With the ruins of this magnificent structure before the eyes, and no other theatre in sight, the temptation was certainly a strong one to find in this neighborhood the Limnae mentioned in the records of the ancients. When Pervanoglu found a handful of rushes in the neighborhood of the present military hospital, the matter seemed finally settled. So, on the maps and charts of

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¹ *Vom Unterschied der Lenäen, Anthesterien und ländlichen Dionysien, in den Abhdl. der k. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1816-17.

² *Die Anfänge und Entwicklung des Dionysoscultus in Attika.*

³ *Bühnen-Alterthümer.*

⁴ *The Attic Theatre.*

⁵ *Das Bühnenwesen der Griechen und Römer.*

⁶ *Die Festzeit der Attischen Dionysien.*

Athens we find the word *Limnae* printed across that region lying to the south of the theatre, beyond the boulevard and the hospital. When, therefore, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, by Harrison and Verrall, appeared over a year ago, those familiar with the topography of Athens as laid down by Curtius and Kaupert were astonished to find, on the little plan facing page 5, that the Limnae had been removed from their time-honored position and located between the Coloneus Agoraeus and the Dipylum. That map incited the preparation of the present article.

While investigating the reasons for and against so revolutionary a change, the writer has become convinced that here, Dr. Dörpfeld, the author of the new view, has built upon a sure foundation. How much in this paper is due to the direct teaching of Dr. Dörpfeld in the course of his invaluable lectures *An Ort und Stelle* on the topography of Athens, I need not say to those who have listened to his talks. How much besides he has given to me of both information and suggestion I would gladly acknowledge in detail; but as this may not always be possible, I will say now that the views presented here after several months of study, in the main correspond with those held by Dr. Dörpfeld. The facts and authorities here cited, and the reasoning deduced from these, are, however, nearly all results of independent investigation. So I shall content myself in general with presenting the reasons which have led me to my own conclusions; for it would require a volume to set forth all the arguments of those who hold opposing views.

The passage Thucydides, II. 15, is the authority deemed most weighty for the placing of the Limnae to the south of the Acropolis. The question of the location of this section of Athens is so intimately connected with the whole topography of the ancient city, that it cannot be treated by itself. I quote therefore the entire passage:

τὸ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτου ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον. τεκμήριον δὲ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἵδρυται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου, καὶ τὸ Πύθιον, καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς, καὶ τὸ ἐν Δίμναις Διονύσου, ᾧ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι· ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν. ἵδρυται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ

ταύτῃ ἀρχαία. καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὕτω σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρόνῳ καλουμένη, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερών τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιρρόῃ ὠνομασμένη, ἐκείνῃ τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι.

Two assumptions are made from this text by those who place the Limnae by the extant theatre. The first is that ὑπ' αὐτήν includes the whole of the extensive section to the south of the Acropolis extending to the Ilissus, and reaching to the east far enough to include the existing Olympieum, with the Pythium and Callirrhoe, which lay near. The second assumption is that these are the particular localities mentioned under the τεκμήριον δὲ. Let us see if this is not stretching ὑπ' αὐτήν a little. I will summarize, so far as may be necessary for our present purpose, the views of Dr. Dörpfeld on the land lying ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, or the Pelasgicum.

That the Pelasgicum was of considerable size is known from the fact that it was one of the sacred precincts occupied when the people came crowding in from the country at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War,⁷ and from the inscription⁸ which forbade that stone should be quarried in or carried from the precinct, or that earth should be removed therefrom. That the Pelasgicum with its nine gates was on the south, west, and south-west slopes, the formation of the Acropolis rock proves, since it is only here that the Acropolis can be ascended easily. That it should include all that position of the hillside between the spring in the Aesculapieum on the south and the Clepsydra on the north-west, was necessary; for in the space thus included lay the springs which formed the source of the water-supply for the fortifications. That the citadel was divided into two parts, the Acropolis proper, and the Pelasgicum, we know.⁹ One of the two questions in each of the two passages from Aristophanes refers to the Acropolis, and the other to the Pelasgicum, and the two are mentioned as parts of the citadel. That the Pelasgicum actually did extend from the Aesculapieum to the Clepsydra we know from Lucian.¹⁰

⁷ THUCYDIDES, II. 17.

⁸ DITTENBERGER, *S. I. G.* 13, 55 ff.

⁹ THUCYDIDES, II. 17; ARISTOPHANES, *Birds*, 829 ff.; *Lysistrata*, 480 ff.

¹⁰ *Piscator*, 42.

The people are represented as coming up to the Acropolis in crowds, filling the road. The way becoming blocked by numbers, in their eagerness they begin to climb up by ladders, first from the Pelasgicum itself, through which the road passes. As this space became filled, they placed their ladders a little further from the road, in the Aesculapieum to the right and by the Areopagus to the left. Still others come, and they must move still further out to find room, to the grave of Talos beyond the Aesculapieum and to the Anaceum beyond the Areopagus. In another passage of Lucian,¹¹ Hermes declares that Pan dwells just above the Pelasgicum; so it reached at least as far as Pan's grotto.

The fortifications of Mycenæ and Tiryns prove that it was not uncommon in ancient Greek cities to divide the Acropolis, the most ancient city, into an upper and a lower citadel.

Finally, that the strip of hillside in question was in fact the Pelasgicum, we are assured by the existing foundations of the ancient walls. A Pelasgic wall extends as a boundary-wall below the Aesculapieum, then onward at about the same level until interrupted by the Odeum of Herodes Atticus. At this point there are plain indications that before the construction of this building, this old wall extended across the space now occupied by the auditorium. Higher up the hill behind the Odeum, and both within and without the Beulé gate, we find traces of still other walls which separated the terraces of the Pelasgicum and probably contained the nine gates which characterized it. Here then we have the ancient city of Cecrops, the city before Theseus, consisting of the Acropolis and the part close beneath, particularly to the south, the Pelasgicum. We shall find for other reasons also that there is no need to stretch the meaning of the words *ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον* to make them cover territory something like half a mile to the eastward, and to include the later Olympieum within the limits of our early city.

Wachsmuth has well said,¹² although this is not invariably true,¹³ that *ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν* and *ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει* are used with refer-

¹¹ *Bis Accus*, 9.

¹² *Berichte der philol.-histor. Classe der Königl. Sächs. Gesell. der Wiss.*, 1887, p. 383.

¹³ *Am. Jour. of Archaeology*, III. 38, ff.

ence to objects lying halfway up the slope of the Acropolis. On the next page he adds, however, that Thucydides could not have meant to describe as the ancient city simply the ground enclosed within the Pelasgic fortifications, or he would have mentioned these in the *τεκμήρια*. Thucydides, in the passage quoted, wished to show that the city of Cecrops was very small in comparison with the later city of Theseus; that the Acropolis was inhabited; and that the habitations did not extend beyond the narrow limits of the fortifications. He distinctly says that before the time of Theseus, the Acropolis was the city. He proceeds to give the reasons for his view: The presence of the ancient temples on the Acropolis itself, the fact that the ancient precincts outside the Acropolis were *πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως*, and the neighborhood of the fountain Enneacrounus. We know, that the Acropolis was still officially called *πόλις* in Thucydides' day; and *πόλις* so used would have no meaning if the Acropolis itself was not the ancient city. *Πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος*, in the passage quoted, refers to the city of Cecrops, the Acropolis and Pelasgicum taken together; and *τῆς πόλεως* refers to the entire later city as it existed in the time of Thucydides. It is, however, in the four temples outside the Acropolis included under the *τεκμήριον* δέ that we are particularly interested. The Pythium of the passage cannot be that Pythium close by the present Olympieum, which was founded by Pisistratus. Pausanias (i. 28, 4,) says: "On the descent [from the Acropolis], not in the lower part of the city but just below the Propylæa, is a spring of water, and close by a shrine of Apollo in a cave. It is believed that here Apollo met Creusa." Probably it was because this cave was the earliest abode of Apollo in Athens that Euripides placed here the scene of the meeting of Apollo and Creusa.

According to Dr. Dörpfeld it was opposite this Pythium that the Panathenaic ship came to rest.¹⁴ In *Ion*, 285, Euripides makes it clear that, from the wall near the Pythium, the watchers looked toward Harma for that lightning which was the signal for the sending of the offering to Delphi. This passage would have no meaning if referred to lightning to be seen by looking toward

¹⁴ PHILOSTRAT. *Vit. Sophist.* II p. 236.

Harma from any position near the existing Olympieum; for the rocks referred to by Euripides are to the northwest, and so could not be visible from the later Pythium. To be sure, in later times the official title of the Apollo of the cave seems to have been ἱπ' ἄκραίῳ or ἐν ἄκραϊς, but this was only after such a distinction became necessary from the increased number of Apollo precincts in the city. The inscriptions referring to the cave in this manner are without exception of Roman date.¹⁵ From Strabo we learn¹⁶ that the watch looked "toward Harma" from an altar to Zeus Astrapæus on the wall between the Pythium and the Olympieum. This wall has always been a source of trouble to those who place the Pythium in question near the present Olympieum. But this difficulty vanishes if we accept the authority of Euripides, for the altar of Zeus Astrapæus becomes located on the northwest wall of the Acropolis; and from this lofty position above the Pythium, with an unobstructed view of the whole northern horizon, it is most natural to expect to see these flashes from Harma.

The Olympieum mentioned by Strabo and Thucydides cannot therefore be the famous structure begun by Pisistratus and dedicated by Hadrian; we must look for another on the northwest side of the Acropolis. Here, it must be admitted we could wish for fuller evidence. Pausanias (I. 18. 8) informs us that "they say Deucalion built the old sanctuary of Zeus Olympius." Unfortunately he does not say where it was located.

Mr. Penrose in an interesting paper read before the British School at Athens in the spring of 1891, setting forth the results of his latest investigations at the Olympieum, said that in the course of his investigations there appeared foundations which he could ascribe to no other building than this most ancient temple. But Dr. Dörpfeld, after a careful examination of these remains, declares that they could by no possibility belong to the sanctuary of the legendary Deucalion.¹⁷

¹⁵ HARRISON and VERRALL, *Mythology and Monuments*, p. 541.

¹⁶ STRABO, p. 404.

¹⁷ It has been held that Pausanias mentions the tomb of Deucalion, which was near the existing Olympieum, as a proof that Deucalion's temple was also here. Pausanias however merely says in this passage that this tomb was pointed out in his day only as a proof that Deucalion sojourned at Athens.

The abandonment of work on the great temple of the Olympian Zeus from the time of the Pisistratids to that of Antiochus Epiphanes, would have left the Athenians without a temple of Zeus for 400 years, unless there existed elsewhere a foundation in his honor. It is on its face improbable that the citizens would have allowed so long a time to pass unless they already possessed some shrine to which they attached the worship and festivals of the chief of the gods.

The spade has taught us that the literary record of old sanctuaries is far from being complete. The new cutting for the Piræus railroad has brought to light inscriptions referring to a hitherto unknown precinct in the Ceramicus.

Mommsen declares¹⁸ that the Olympia were celebrated at the Olympieum which was begun by Pisistratus; and he adds that the festival was probably established by him. Of the more ancient celebration in honor of Zeus, the Diasia, he can only say surely that it was held outside the city. Certainly we should expect the older festival to have its seat at the older sanctuary.

The ἔξω τῆς πόλεως¹⁹, which is Mommsen's authority in the passage referred to above, has apparently the same meaning as the τὰ ἔξω (τῆς πόλεως) already quoted from Thucydides; *i. e.*, outside of the ancient city—the Acropolis and Pelasgicum. The list of dual sanctuaries, the earlier by the entrance to the Acropolis, the later to the southeast, is quite a long one. We find two precincts of Apollo, of Zeus, of Ge, and, as we shall see later, of Dionysus.

Of Ge Olympia we learn²⁰ that she had a precinct within the enclosure of the later Olympieum. Pausanias by his mention of the cleft in the earth through which the waters of the flood disappeared and of the yearly offerings of the honey-cake in connection with this, shows the high antiquity of certain rites here celebrated. It is indeed most probable that these ceremonies formed a part of the Chytri; for what seems the more ancient portion of this festival pertains also to the worship of those who perished in Deucalion's flood. The worship of Ge *Kourotrophos* goes back to times immemorial. Pausanias mentions²¹ as the last shrines

¹⁸ *Heortologie*, p. 413. ¹⁹ THUCYDIDES 126. ²⁰ PAUS. I. 18. 7.

²¹ PAUS. I. 22. 33. SUIDAS, *κουροτρόφος*.

which he sees before entering the upper city, those of Ge *Kour-trophos* and Demeter Chloe, which must therefore have been situated on the southwest slope of the Acropolis. Here again near the entrance to the Pelasgic fortification, is where we should expect *a priori* to find the oldest religious foundations. "outside the Polis."

The location of the fourth *hieron* of Thucydides can best be determined by means of the festivals, more particularly the dramatic festivals of Dionysus. That the dramatic representations at the Greater Dionysia, the more splendid of the festivals, were held on the site of the existing theatre of Dionysus, perhaps from the beginning, at least from a very early period, all are agreed. Here was the precinct containing two temples of Dionysus, in the older of which was the xoanon²² brought from Eleutherae by Pegasus. That in early times, at least, all dramatic contests were not held here we have strong assurance. Pausanias²³ the lexicographer, mentions the wooden seats in the agora from which the people viewed the dramatic contests before the theatre ἐν Διονύσου was constructed—plainly the existing theatre. Hesychius confirms this testimony.²⁴

Bekker's *Anecdota* include mention, also,²⁵ of the wooden seats of this temporary theatre. Pollux adds²⁶ his testimony that the wooden seats were in the agora. Photius gives the further important information that the orchestra first received its name in the agora.²⁷ There can be no doubt that in very early times, there were dramatic representations in the agora in honor of Dionysus; and there must therefore have been a shrine or a precinct of the god in or close to the agora. The possibility of presentation of dramas at Athens, especially in these early times, unconnected with the worship of Dionysus and with some shrine sacred to him, cannot be entertained for a moment. It is commonly accepted

²² PAUS. I. 2, 5 and I. 20, 3.

²³ PAUS., *Lexikog.* ἱκρία· τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀφ' ὧν ἐθεώοντο τοὺς Διονυσιακοὺς ἀγῶνας πρὶν ἢ κατασκευασθῆναι τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θέατρον. Cf. EUSTATH. *Comment. Hom.* 1472.

²⁴ HESYCH., ἀπ' αἰγυπτῶν.

²⁵ BEKKER, *Anecdota* p. 354; *ibid.*, p. 419.

²⁶ POLLUX, VII. 125.

²⁷ PHOTIUS, p. 106; *Ibid.*, p. 351.

that dramas were represented during two festivals in Athens,—at the contest at the Lenaeum and at the City Dionysia. The plays of the latter festival were undoubtedly given in the extant theatre; but of the former contest we have an entirely different record. Harpocration says²⁸ merely that the Limnae were a locality in Athens where Dionysus was honored. A reference in Bekker's *Anecdota* is²⁹ more explicit. Here the Lenaeum is described as a place sacred to (ἱερὸν) Dionysus where the contests were established before the building of the theatre. In the *Etymologicum Magnum*³⁰ the Lenaeum is said to be an enclosure (περίανθος) in which is a sanctuary of Dionysus Lenaeus. Photius declares³¹ that the Lenaeum is a large peribolus in which were held the so-called contests at the Lenaeum before the theatre was built, and that in this peribolus there was the sanctuary of Dionysus Lenaeus. The scholiast to Aristophanes' *Frogs* says³² that the Limnae were a locality sacred to Dionysus, and that a temple and another building (οἶκος) of the god stood therein. Hesychius mentions³³ the Limnae as a locality where the Lenaea were held, and says that the Lenaeum was a large peribolus within the city, in which was the sanctuary of Dionysus Lenaeus, and that the Athenians held contests in this peribolos before they built the theatre. Pollux speaks³⁴ of the two theatres, καὶ Διονυσιακὸν θέατρον καὶ ληναϊκόν. Stephanus of Byzantium quotes³⁵ from Apollodorus that the "Lenaion Agon" is a contest in the fields by the wine-press. Plato implies³⁶ the existence of a second theatre by stating that Pherecrates exhibited dramas at the Lenaeum. If the Lenaea and the City Dionysia were held in the same locality, it is peculiar that in all the passages concerning the Lenaeum and the Limnae we find no mention of the Greater Dionysia. But our list of authorities goes still further. Aristophanes speaks³⁷ of the con-

²⁸ HARP. ed. Dind. p. 114. l. 14.

²⁹ BEKKER, *Anecdota*, p. 278, l. 8.

³⁰ *Et. Mag.* Ἐπ Διληναίῳ.

³¹ PHOTIUS, p. 101.

³² Schol. *Frogs*, 216.

³³ HESYCH., Λιμναί· *Ibid.* ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ ἀγών.

³⁴ POLLUX, IV. 121.

³⁵ STEPH. BYZ., *Ἀθήναιος*.

³⁶ PLATO, *Protag.*, 327 w.

³⁷ *Achar.*, 202, and schol.

test κατ' ἀγρούς. The scholiast declares that he refers to the Lenaea, that the Lenaeum was a place sacred (ιερόν) to Dionysus, ἐν ἀγροῖς, and that the word Λήναιον came from the fact that here first stood the ληνός or wine-press. He adds³⁸ that the contests in honor of Dionysus took place twice in the year, first in the city in the spring, and the second time ἐν ἀγροῖς at the Lenaeum in the winter. The precinct by the present theatre, as we know, was sacred to Dionysus Eleuthereus. In this temenos no mention has been found of Dionysus Λίμναιος or Λήναιος.

Demosthenes tells us³⁹ that the Athenians, having inscribed a certain law (concerning the festivals of Dionysus) on a stone stele, set this up in the sanctuary of Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις, beside the altar. "This stele was set up," he continues, "in the most ancient and most sacred precinct⁴⁰ of Dionysus, so that but few should see what had been written; for the precinct is opened only once every year, on the 12th of the month Anthesterio.

The stele being then visible to the public on but one day of the year it follows that the entire precinct of Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις

³⁸ Schol. Aristoph. Achar., 504.

³⁹ Near. 76.

⁴⁰ I have translated ιερόν by precinct. This is liable to the objection that ιερόν may also mean temple; and ἀνοίγεται "is opened" of the passage may naturally be applied to the opening of a temple. But "hieron" often refers to a sacred precinct, and there is nothing to prevent the verb in question from being used of a "hieron" in this sense. If we consult the passages in which this particular precinct is mentioned we find, in those quoted from Photius and the *Etymologicum Magnum*, that the Lenaeum contains a hieron of the Lenaeian Dionysus. This might be either temple or precinct. In the citation from Bekker's *Anecdota* the Lenaeum is the hieron at which were held the theatrical contests. This implies that the hieron was a precinct of some size. The Scholiast to Achar. 202 makes the Lenaeum the hieron of the Lenaeian Dionysus. Here "hieron" is certainly a precinct. Hesych. (ἐπὶ Ληναίῃ ἀγῶν) renders this still more distinct by saying that the Lenaeum contained the hieron of the Lenaeian Dionysus, in which the theatrical contests were held. But Demosthenes in the *Neaera* declares that the decree was engraved on a stone stele. It was the custom to set up such inscriptions in the open air. This stele was also beside the altar. There were indeed often altars in the Greek temple, but the chief altar (βωμός of the passage) was in the open air. Furthermore, if the decree had been placed in the small temple, the designation "alongside the altar" would have been superfluous. But in the larger precinct such a particular location was necessary. Nor can it be urged, in view of the secret rites in connection with the marriage of the King Archon's wife to Dionysus on the 12th of Anthesterio, that hieron must mean temple; since the new Aristotle manuscript tells us that this ceremony took place in the Bucoleum.

must have been closed during the remainder of the year. This could not be unless we grant that, in the time of Demosthenes at least, the Lenaea and the Megala Dionysia were held in different precincts, and that the Lenaea and Anthesteria were one and the same festival.

Pausanias tells us⁴² that the xoanon brought from Eleutherae was in one of the two temples in the theatre-precinct, while the other contained the chryselephantine statue of Alcamenes. We know, both from the method of construction and from literary notices, that these two temples were in existence in the time of Demosthenes. Pausanias says⁴² that on fixed days every year, the statue of the god was borne to a little temple of Dionysus near the Academy. Pausanias' use of the plural in *τεταγμέναις ἡμέραις* is excellent authority that the temple of the xoanon was opened at least on more than one day of every year.

From all these considerations it seems to be impossible that the precinct of the older temple by the extant theatre and the sanctuary *ἐν Δίμναις* could be the same. The suggestion that the gold and ivory statue of Alcamenes could have been the one borne in procession at the time of the Greater Dionysia is, of course, untenable from the delicate construction of such figures. The massive base on which it stood shows, too, that its size was considerable. The image borne in procession was clearly the xoanon which was brought by Pegasus from Eleutherae.

Wilamowitz calls attention⁴³ to another fact. In classic times the contests of the Lenaea are *Διονύσια τὰ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ*, and the victories are *νῖκαι Ληναϊκαί*; the Megala Dionysia are always *τὰ ἐν ἄστει*, and the victories here *νῖκαι ἄστικαί*. These words certainly imply a distinction of place. How early these expressions may have been used, we learn from the account of Thespis. Suidas⁴⁴ is authority that Thespis first exhibited a play in 536 B. C.; and the Parian Marble records⁴⁵ that he was the first to exhibit a drama and to receive the tragic prize *ἐν ἄστει*.

⁴² I. 20. 3.

⁴³ I. 29. 2.

⁴⁴ *Die Bühne des Aeschylos*.

⁴⁵ v. *Thespis*.

⁴⁶ *C. I. G.*, II. 2374.

But it has also been contended that Limnae and Lenaeum do not refer to the same locality. It is clear from what has been said, however, that the Lenaea and the Greater Dionysia must have been held in different localities. So if Limnae and the Lenaeum do not refer at least to the same region, there must have been three separate sanctuaries of Dionysus; for no one will claim that the Greater Dionysia can have been held in the Limnae if the Lenaea were not celebrated there. But as we have seen, Hesychius (v. Λίμναι) declares that the Lenaea were held ἐν Λίμναις. The scholiast to Aristophanes says ⁴⁶ that the Chytri were a festival of Dionysus Lenaeus; so the Chytri as well as the Lenaea must have been celebrated in the Lenaeum. Athenæus in the story of Orestes and Pandion speaks ⁴⁷ of the temenus ἐν Λίμναις in connection with the Choes. In Suidas (χόες), however, we learn that either Limnaeus or Lenaeus could be used in referring to the same Dionysus. Such positive testimony for the identity of the Lenaeum and the sanctuary in the Limnae, cannot be rejected.

We have still more convincing testimony that in the great period of the drama the two annual contests at which dramas were brought out were held in different places, in the record of the time when the wooden theatre ἐν Λίμναις was finally given up, and ὁ ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίῳ ἀγὼν became a thing of the past. The change comes exactly when we should look for it, when the existing theatre had been splendidly rebuilt by Lycurgus. The passage is in Plutarch, where he says ⁴⁸ that this orator also introduced a law that the contest of the comedians at the Chytri should take place in the theatre, and that the victor should be reckoned εἰς ἄστυ, as had not been done before. He further implies that the contest at the Chytri had fallen into disuse, for he adds that Lycurgus thus restored an agon that had been omitted. This last authority, however, concerns a contest at the Chytri, the Anthesteria, and is only one of many passages which tend to show that ὁ ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίῳ ἀγὼν was held at this festival. The most weighty testimony for making the Lenaea an independent festival, even in historic times, is given by Proclus in a scholium to Hesiod. ⁴⁹ He

⁴⁶ *Acharnians* 960. ⁴⁷ X, 437 d.

⁴⁸ [Plut.] *Vit.* 10 *Or.*: LYCURG. *Orat.* VII. 1. 10 p. 841.

⁴⁹ PROCLUS to Hesiod, Op. 504.

quotes from Plutarch the statement that there was no month Lenaeo among the Bœotians. He adds that this month was the Attic Gamelio in which the Lenaea were held. Hesychius makes the same citation from Plutarch⁵⁰ as to a non-existence of a Bœotian month Lenaeo, and continues: "But some say that this month is the (Bœotian) Hermaio, and this is true, for the Athenians [held] in this month (*ἐν αὐτῷ*) the festival of the Lenaea." The great similarity of the two passages renders it very probable that both were drawn from the same sources. The omission of Gamelio by Hesychius, by referring the *ἐν αὐτῷ* back to Lenaeo, makes him authority that the Lenaea were held in that month. This, in turn implies that Proclus may have inserted Gamelio in order to bring the statement into relation with the Attic months of his own day. In the authorities referring to this month is a suggestion of several facts and a curious struggle to account for them. Proclus cites Plutarch to the effect that there was no month Lenaeo among the Bœotians, but, being probably misled by the very passage in Hesiod for which he has quoted Plutarch, he adds⁵¹ that they had such a month. He goes on to state that the month is so called from the Lenaea, or from the Ambrosia. Moschopulus,⁵² Tzetzes,⁵³ and the Etymologicum Magnum⁵⁴ repeat this last statement. An inscription⁵⁵ referring to a crowning of Bacchus on the 18th of Gamelio may refer to the same festival. Tzetzes alone is responsible for the statement that the *Pithoigia* came in this month. Through Proclus and Hesychius we are assured of the belief that there was once an Attic month Lenaeo. Proclus, Hesychius and Moschopulus tell us that the Lenaea were at some period held in this month; while Proclus, Moschopulus, Tzetzes, and the inscription assure us that there was another festival of Dionysus in this month; and the first three of these authorities name this festival Ambrosia. A tradition running with such persistency through so many authors affords a strong

⁵⁰ HESYCHIUS, *Ληναίων μῆν.*

⁵¹ PROCLUS, *To Hesiod Op.* 504.

⁵² MOSCHOPUL., *κατὰ τὸν μῆνα τὸν Ληναίων.*

⁵³ TZETZES, *μῆνα δὲ Ληναίων.*

⁵⁴ *Et. Mag.*, *Ληναίων.*

⁵⁵ *C. I. G.*, I. 523. *Γαμηλιῶνος κυττώσεις Διονύσου θ.*

presumption that there once existed an Attic month Lenæo, and that the Lenæa were celebrated in that month.

Thucydides tells us⁵⁶ that the Ionian Athenians carried the festival Anthesteria with them from Athens, and that they continued until his day to celebrate it. The Anthesteria are thus older than the Ionic migration, which took place under the sons of Codrus.⁵⁷ The story of Pandion and Orestes from Apollodorus places the establishment of the Choes in the time of this mythical Athenian king. The first and third months of the Ionic year⁵⁸ are the same as those of the Attic. There can hardly be a doubt, then, that their second month, Lenæo, was also carried with the emigrants from the parent city, where at that time it obtained.

This gives a time, however remote it may be, when the Athenians still had the month Lenæo, yet we hear of no festival Lenæa among the Ionian cities. It would thus seem that this had lost its force as an independent festival before the migration.

Gamelio is said to have received its name from the Gamelia, the festival of Zeus and Hera. It is hard to believe that while the much more brilliant Lenæa remained in the month, the name

⁵⁶II. 15.

⁵⁷БОЕЧКН, *Vom Unterschied der Lena., Anthest. und Dion.* s. 52.

⁵⁸ The entire argument on the question of the month is open to the objection that too much weight is given to such men as Tzetzes and all the tribe of minor scholiasts, whose opportunities for accurate knowledge were, in many respects, vastly inferior to those of scholars of our own day. It is easy indeed to say that their testimony is worth nothing. But where shall we stop? It is urged that the connection of the Lenæa with an Attic month Lenæo arose from an attempt on the part of the commentators to explain names as they found them. It is said that this conflict of the authorities proves that there never was an Attic Lenæo. This may be true; and the man who will prove it to be so, and furthermore will give us the accurate history of the Attic and the Ionic calendars, will do a great service to Greek scholarship. But he must have at hand better sources than we possess to-day. Though the later Greek commentators on the classics have made many amusing and stupid blunders, though we need not hesitate to disregard their teaching when it comes into conflict with better authority, or with plain reason, still they have told us that which is true. They often furnish us with all that we know of older and better authors, whose works were their authority. Therefore, unless I have found testimony against them, I have followed their teaching. Both here and elsewhere I give their words for what they are worth; not that I rank Proclus with Thucydides, or the Et. Mag. with Aristophanes,—but from the conviction that so remarkable a concurrence of testimony in so many different writers has not yet been successfully explained away, and could not indeed exist unless their testimony were founded on a basis of fact.

should have passed to the always somewhat unimportant Gamelia. What reason could be found for this naming, unless that the Lenaea had first been transferred to the Anthesteria, as all the testimony tends to prove? This supposition gives an easy explanation of the repeated reference to Lenaeo as an Attic month, of the change of the name to Gamelio, and even Tzetzes' association of the Pithoigia with the Lenaea,—an association which arises necessarily, if the Lenaea once formed part of the Anthesteria. The impossibility of transferring in its entirety a festival which has become rooted in the customs of a people, is also seen. That remnant of the Lenaea in Lenaeo, the Ambrosia, survived till quite late in Attic history. It is not difficult, then, to understand why the other references to the Lenaea as a separate festival do not agree as to the month.

A triad of contests is given by Demosthenes⁵⁹ where he quotes the law of Euegoras with reference to the Dionysiac festivals: the one in Piræus with its comedies and tragedies, *ἡ ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων πομπή* with its tragedies and comedies, and the City Dionysia with the chorus of boys, procession, comedies and tragedies. Here are three different contests in three different places; and the Anthesteria and Lenaea are included under *ἡ ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων πομπή*. The purpose of the law was to preserve absolute security and freedom to both person and property on the days of the festivals named. Not even an overdue debt could be collected. In so sweeping a law the Anthesteria could hardly fail to be included; for at no Attic festival was there more absolute liberty and equality. In Suidas⁶⁰ we learn that the revellers at the Chytri, going about on carts, jested and made sport of the passers by, and that later they did the same at the Lenaea. Thus he gives another proof of the connection between the two festivals, and shows that *ὁ ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀγών* became a part of the older Anthesteria after the invention of comedy, and that even then the old custom was kept up. In Athenæus we find⁶¹ the Samian Lynceus sojourning in Athens and commiserated as passing his time listening to the lectures of Theophrastus and seeing the Lenaea and Chytri, in

⁵⁹ *Mil.* 10.

⁶⁰ SUIDAS, *ἐκ τῶν ἀμαζῶν σώωματα*.

⁶¹ ATHENÆUS, IV. p. 130.

contrast to the lavish Macedonian feasts of his correspondent. The latter in the same connection says⁶² that certain men, probably players, who had filled a part in Athens at the Chytri, came in to amuse the guests. The marriage which he is attending then took place after the Chytri. It is not likely, therefore, that in "the Lenaea and Chytri" he is referring to two festivals separated by a month of time. He speaks, rather, of two acts of the same celebration.

The frogs in Aristophanes claim the temenus ἐν Αἰναιῶν and speak of their song at the Chytri. The scholiast cites⁶³ Philochorus, saying that the contests referred to were the χύτρινοι.

A suspected passage in Diogenes Laertius declares (III 56) that it was the custom to contend with tetralogies at four festivals, the Dionysia, Lenaea, Panathenaea, and Chytri. If the passage is worth anything, it adds new testimony that there were dramatic representations at the Anthesteria. The Menander of Alciphron, also, would hardly exclaim⁶⁴ over πολὺς χύτρος, unless the contest were one in which he, as dramatist, could have a part.

No other of the extant dramas has been so much discussed in connection with the question as the *Acharnians*. Those who hold that the Lenaea and Anthesteria were entirely separate, have affirmed that the play opens on the Pnyx in Athens, that the scene changes to the country-house of Dicaeopolis in Cholleidae, at the season of the country Dionysia in the month Posideo. Later the time of the Lenaea in the month Gamelio is represented. Finally the locality is again Athens at the Anthesteria in Anthesterio. In fact, we are told, the poet has, in the *Acharnians*, shown his true greatness by overleaping all restraints of time and place and giving his fancy free rein. But this is making the *Acharnians* an isolated example among the Greek plays which have come down to us. Changes of scene are foreign to the nature of the Greek drama, as is acknowledged by A. Müller.⁶⁵

That the beginning of the play is on the Pnyx, there is no question. In v. 202, Dicaeopolis declares: "I will go in and

⁶² Ibid. III. 129.

⁶³ Schol. ARIST. *Frogs*. 218.

⁶⁴ *Alciphron Ep.* II. 3. 11.

⁶⁵ *Bühnenalt.*, 161.

celebrate the Country Dionysia." This is held to be a statement of the actual time of year represented in this portion of the play, and also to indicate the change of place from Athens to the country. That the country festivals to the wine-god in the different demes were held on different dates, we learn from the fact that companies of actors went out from Athens to make the tour of these provincial festivals.⁶⁶ We know, too, that these rural celebrations were under charge of the demarchs.⁶⁷ In the passage from the *Acharnians* just cited, there is no statement that this is the season when the demes were accustomed to hold their annual Bacchic celebrations. Rather, in his joy in his newly concluded peace, the hero declares that he will *now* hold this festival in honor of the god of the vine. No surprise is felt at this exceptional date, particularly as, by his statement below,⁶⁸ he has been prevented for six years from holding the festival at its proper season. This last passage, however, is the strongest authority for a change of place in the action. Certainly, if the reading is correct, in the light of all the remainder of the comedy we should naturally translate: "in the sixth year, having come into my deme, I salute you gladly." But we do no violence to the construction if we say that ἐλθὼν ἐς τὸν δῆμον means "going (*forth*) to my deme." Unquestionably up to the end of the first choral ode at v. 236, the action has gone on in Athens. But here, we are told, comes the change of place. In v. 202 Dicaeopolis has declared that he is "going in." What does he enter but his house in the city? At v. 236 the chorus also is in Athens. In v. 237, the voice of Dicaeopolis is heard from within—his *country* house, it is said; and in v. 238 the chorus is as suddenly before this same house! Such rapid changes might easily take place on a modern stage, but are of a character to excite remark in an ancient theatre. If there was a change here, the second scene must have represented Choleidae with the three houses of Dicaeopolis, Lamachus, and Euripides; and the three must be in the same deme; for the Bacchic procession of Dicaeopolis appears at v. 241, and is broken up by the chorus at v. 280. As soon as Dicaeopolis, by his by-play, has

⁶⁶ HAIGH, *Attic Theatre*, p. 47.

⁶⁷ OEHMICHEN, *Bühnenwesen*, s. 195.

⁶⁸ *Achar.*, 266 f.

obtained permission to plead his cause, he turns (v. 394) to the house of Euripides to borrow the wardrobe of one of the tragic heroes. Then, when his defense has divided the chorus, the first half call upon the gorgon-helmeted Lamachus (v. 566) to bear them aid, and that warrior appears from his house.

Now the common enemy has prevented the celebration of the Country Dionysia for six years. How is it possible, under such circumstances, to conceive of Euripides as composing tragedies in the country? How could the general Lamachus be living out of the city in such a time of danger? Certainly the play itself gives us authority that this scene also is in Athens. At v. 241 Dicaeopolis would go forth with his procession to hold the rural Dionysia in his deme. Prevented from doing so, he is from this on busy with the duties and pleasures of the Choes. His altercation with the chorus and with Lamachus ended, he (v. 623 f.) announces that he will open a market for all Bœotians, Megarians, and Peloponnesians. He sets up (v. 719) the bounds of his markets, and appoints three "himantes" as agoranomi. These officials are suggestive of those busy at the Anthesteria.⁶⁹ The first customer, from Megara comes in with: "Hail, agora in *Athens*" (v. 729), and brings for sale pigs suitable for sacrifice at the Mysteries (v. 747 and 764). The Lesser Mysteries came in Anthesterio first after the Anthesteria.

There is no change of place in the course of the action. The scene, the Pnyx with the houses of Dicaeopolis, Lamachus, and Euripides near by, remains the same. There is no indication of a jump in time from Posideo to Gamelio, and again from Gamelio to Anthesterio.

Amid all the preparations for the Anthesteria made in the play, two statements cannot fail to attract attention. In v. 504 f. the poet informs us that this is not the Greater Dionysia, when strangers, tribute-bearers, and allies were present. It is the contest at the Lenaeum. In v. 1150 f. the chorus frees its mind concerning the miserly fashion in which Antimachus treated them at a previous celebration of the Lenaea. Shall we say that the poet, in order to speak of things present before the eyes of the Athen-

⁶⁹ MOMMSEN, *Heortologie v. Anthesteria*.

ians, steps, in these two passages, entirely outside the action of the play? By no means. The poet is dealing with a vital issue. He is fighting against the ruinous war. The power of his genius is shown by the masterly manner in which he uses the moment which was present to his hearers. The victor at the Choes sat among the spectators; the very walls of the theatre had hardly ceased to resound with the din of the carousers. Here, or elsewhere, there is mention of but one *ἐπὶ Ἀθναίῳ ἀγῶν*, that is the Lenaea, or the dramatic contest at the Anthesteria.

In fixing the date of the "Dionysia at the Lenaeum," we have the authority of some interesting inscriptions which have been collected in Dittenberger S. I. G. II. 374. They are the record of moneys obtained from the sale of the hides of the victims sacrificed at various festivals of the Attic year. A portion of each of four separate lists has been preserved. In the first and fourth of these, as they stand in Dittenberger, three Dionysiac festivals are mentioned: that at Piræus, the Dionysia *ἐν ἄστει*, and the Dionysia *ἐπὶ Ἀθναίῳ*. The third list ends with the Dionysia in Piræus. The remaining inscription mentions two Dionysiac festivals, the one at the Lenaeum, and that *ἐν ἄστει*. The part of the record which should cover the Dionysia at Piræus is wanting. The calendar order of all the festivals mentioned is strictly followed.

Köhler in *C. I. A.*, led by the other inscriptions found with these four, says that the lists do not contain mention of all the festivals at which public sacrifices of cattle were made in that portion of the year covered by the inscriptions, but that these are to be considered only as records of the hide-money which was to be devoted to particular uses. As a matter of fact, however, nearly all the public festivals of importance, as well as some of less note, are included in these lists; and it would be difficult to demonstrate that they do not contain a complete record of the public hide-money for the portion of the year in which these festivals fall.

In these inscriptions the peculiarity with reference to the Dionysia is the same which we find in all other accounts which seem to give a complete record of these festivals. Only three are mentioned as held under public authority. Did the omission of

the Lenaea and Anthesteria occur only in this case, we might, following Köhler, admit that the hide-money from this particular festival was not devoted to this special purpose, and that for this reason the name did not appear in these records. But since in no case are there more than three mentioned; and since the third name is one which covers all celebrations in honor of Dionysus at the Lenaeum, this assumption cannot be granted. The important point, and one that cannot be too strongly emphasized, is that neither in these nor in any other inscription or official record is there any mention of the Lenaea or Anthesteria as such. The official language appears always to have been, as here: Διονύσια ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ, or: ἡ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ πομπή, or, where the dramatic contest alone was intended: ὁ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ ἀγών. Once only in the 5th century⁷⁰ do we find Λήναια used; and here it is synonymous with ὁ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ ἀγών. Wilamowitz has well said that Λήναια as a name of a separate festival is an invention of the grammarians. Aristophanes, in the passage from the *Acharnians*, shows that this name may have been used commonly for the dramatic contest at the Lenaeum, and we know from Thucydides that Anthesteria was also used of the entire festival. It is impossible that in a record like the hide-money inscriptions, the official title Διονύσια ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ should be employed to cover two festivals separated by an interval of a month.

But was the Anthesteria a state festival, at which public sacrifices of cattle were made? The story of its institution by Pandion shows that it was public from the beginning. Aristophanes informs us⁷¹ that it maintained this character; for the Basileus awarded the prize at the Choes. The question of sacrifice requires fuller treatment.

Suidas⁷² and a scholiast⁷³ to Aristophanes quote from Theopompus the story of the establishment of the Chytri. On the very day on which they were saved, the survivors of the flood introduced the celebration of this day of the Anthesteria by cooking a potful of all sorts of vegetables, and sacrificing it to the

⁷⁰ *Acharnians*, 1155.

⁷¹ *Acharnians*, 1225.

⁷² SUIDAS, χύτροι.

⁷³ Schol. ARISTOPH., *Frogs*. 218.

Chthonian Hermes and those who had perished in the waters. The scholiast adds that sacrifice was offered to no one of the Olympian gods on this day.

In Suidas we find a hint of the other ceremonies on the Chytri. According to him, there were sacrifices to Dionysus as well as to Hermes. This suggests that the Chytri was but one day of the Anthesteria, and, though the worship of the departed may have been the older portion of the celebration, it was later overshadowed by the festivities in honor of the wine-god. As the text of his argument in his oration against Midias, Demosthenes cites four oracular utterances, two from Dodona, the others probably from Delphi. In the first the god calls upon the children of Erechtheus, as many as inhabit the city of Pandion, to be mindful of Bacchus, all together throughout the wide streets to return fit thanks to the Bromian, and crowned with wreaths, to cause the odor of sacrifice to rise from the altars. In this oracle, Athens is the city of Pandion, because it was reported that under his rule the worship of Dionysus was introduced into the city. This and the other commands from Dodona and Delphi concerning Dionysus refer to the introduction of the worship of the god; for in every one the statement is absolute; there is no reference to a previous worship and a backsliding on the part of the people. *κνισᾶν βομοῖσι* of the first oracle can refer only to a sacrifice of animals. Stronger still is the statement in the fourth oracle (from Dodona) where the command is given to fulfil sacred rites (*ἱερὰ τελεῖν*) to Dionysus, and to sacrifice to Apollo and to Zeus. (*Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀποτροπαίῳ βοὺν θύσαι . . . Διὶ Κτησίῳ βοὺν λευκόν.*) The command "to mix bowls of wine and to establish choral dances," in the second and fourth oracles, serves as an explanatory comment on "return fit thanks to the Bromian" in the first. "Let free men and slaves wear wreaths and enjoy leisure for one day," must refer to the Pithoigia. In this feast the slaves had a part, and enjoyed a holiday. Hence the saying⁷⁴ "Forth, slaves, it is no longer the Anthesteria." In obedience to the oracles then, public sacrifices could not have been lacking at the Anthesteria. Therefore, this festival must have been officially known as the Dionysia *ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ*.

⁷⁴ *θύραζε Κᾶρες οὐκέτ' Ἀνθεστήρια.*

The dramatic contests at the Lenaeum, like those at the Greater Dionysia, were undoubtedly preceded by sacrifices. The ἀγὼν ἐπὶ Ληναίων could hardly be separated from the Dionysia ἐπὶ Ληναίων. Therefore the hide-money inscriptions are also authority that Lenaea and Anthesteria are but two references to the same festival.

Thucydides, as we have seen,⁷⁵ knew of but two Dionysia in Athens itself; those ἐν ἄστει and the Anthesteria. Of these, using the comparative degree, he states that the latter were the ἀρχαιότερα. In his time the dramatic contests ἐν Δίμναις were in their glory, yet he mentions but one celebration in this locality. So here also we must conclude that Anthesteria was the name of the whole festival which Harpocration tells us was called *πιθοίγια*, *χοές* and *χύτροι*; that there was, in the flourishing period of the drama, no separate festival Lenaea, but that the ἀγὼν at the Chytri came to be so called to distinguish it from that at the City Dionysia.

It is interesting in connection with Thucydides' statement that the Ionian Athenians in his day still held the Anthesteria, to examine the record of this festival in the Ionic cities of Asia Minor. To be sure we have very little information concerning the details of this celebration among them; but we do find two statements of importance. *C. I. G.* 3655 mentions certain honors proclaimed at the Anthesteria in the theatre in Cyzicus. Comparison with similar observances at Athens indicates that theatrical representations were to follow. *C. I. G.* 3044, *τῶγῶνος Ἀνθεστηριοῖσιν*, refers to Teos. From the constant use of ἀγὼν referring to theatrical performances in connection with the festivals of Dionysus the word can hardly mean anything else here. So these two inscriptions, referring to two colonies, add their testimony that dramas were presented also at the Anthesteria in Athens.

Finally, Aristotle's *Politeia* falls into line with the hide-money records. In § 56, the statement is made that the Archon Eponymos had the Megala Dionysia in charge. In the following section, the Archon Basileus is said to have control, not of the Lenaea or of the Anthesteria—for neither is mentioned by name,—but of the Dionysia ἐπὶ Ληναίων. The Basileus and the Epimeletae together directed the procession; but the basileus alone controlled the

⁷⁵ II. 15.

[dramatic] contest. Here again, it is inconceivable that either Anthesteria or Lenaea should be omitted; so both must be included under Dionysia ἐπὶ Ἀθναίῳ.

We thus find our position supported by inscriptions of undoubted authority, and by a list of names ranging in time from before Aristophanes to the 9th century A. D., and in weight from Thucydides and Aristotle to the Scholiasts.

If the Limnae were not by the existing theatre of Dionysus, where were they? Not on the south side of the Acropolis, as a careful examination of the ground proves. In our study of the theatre-precinct, we found that the earth here in antiquity was at a much higher level than at present, while immediately outside the wall of this precinct to the south, the ground was considerably lower than it is now. The present height of the theatre-precinct is 91.4 m. above the sea level; of the Odeum, 97.7 metres; of the Olympieum, 80.8 m.; of the ground within the enclosure of the Military Hospital due south from the theatre, 75 m.; of Callirrhoe in the Ilissus opposite the Olympieum, 59 m.; of the Ilissus bed opposite the theatre, 50 m. From the present level of the theatre to the bed of the stream there is a fall of more than 41 m.; the fall is about equally rapid along the entire extent of the slope to the south of the Acropolis, while the soil is full of small stones. Surely, it would take more than the oft-cited handful of rushes to establish a swamp on such a hillside. We have, however, excellent geological authority that from the lay of the land and the nature of the soil, there never could have been a swamp there. The Neleum inscription⁷⁶ can be held to prove nothing further than that, as Mr. Wheeler suggests, the drain from the existing theatre ran through this precinct. We must therefore seek the Limnae elsewhere.

We know that from time immemorial the potters plied their trade in the Ceramicus, because here they found the clay suitable for their use. The so-called Theseum is 68.6 m. above the sea-level; the present level at the Piræus railroad station, 54.9 m.; at the Dipylum (and here we are on the ancient level), only 47.9 m. Out beyond the gate comes a long slope, extending till the Ce-

⁷⁶ *Am. Journal of Archaeology*, III. 38-48.

phissus is reached, at an elevation of 21 m. So the Dipylum is over 43 m. below the present level of the theatre-precinct; and it is the lowest portion of the ancient city. Here, therefore, in the northwest part of the city, is where we should expect from the lay of the land and the nature of the soil to find the marshes. Out in the open plain beyond this quarter of the city to-day, after every heavy rain, the water collects and renders the ground swampy. With the Dipylum as a starting-point, there is no difficulty in supposing that, in very ancient times, the Limnae extended to Colonus Agoraeus, to the east into the hollow which became a portion of the agora in the Ceramicus, and to the west into the depression between Colonus Agoraeus and the Hill of the Nymphs. The exact extent and character of the low ground in these two directions can only be determined by excavating the ancient level, which, as it appears to me, has not been reached by the deep new railroad cutting running across this section north of the so-called Theseum.

The excavations of Dr. Dörpfeld between Colonus Agoraeus and the Areopagus, have shown that the ruins and the ancient street at this point have been buried to a great depth by the débris washed down from the Pnyx. Unfortunately, these diggings have not been extensive enough to restore the topography of the west and southwest slopes of Colonus Agoraeus.

We have abundant notices, besides those already given, of a precinct or precincts of Dionysus in this section. Hesychius speaks⁷⁷ of a house in Melite where the tragic actors rehearsed. Photius repeats⁷⁸ the statement almost word for word. Philostratus mentions⁷⁹ a council-house of the artists near the gate of the Ceramicus. Pausanias (i. 2. 5), just after entering the city, sees within one of the stoas the house of Poulytion which was dedicated to Dionysus Melpomenus. He speaks next of a precinct with various ἀγάλματα, and among them the face of the demon of unmixed wine, Cratus. Beyond this precinct was a building with images of clay, representing, among other scenes, Pegasus, who brought the worship of Dionysus to Athens. This building

⁷⁷ HESYCH. Μελιτέων οἶκος.

⁷⁸ PHOTIUS, Μελιτέων οἶκος.

⁷⁹ PHILOST. *Vit. Soph.* p. 251.

also was plainly devoted to the cult of the wine-god. In fact, the most venerable traditions in Athens, with reference to Dionysus, centre here. All the various representations here are connected with the oldest legends. Pausanias (I. 3. 1.) says that the Ceramicus had its very name from Ceramus, a son of Dionysus and Ariadne.

We have already seen that an orchestra was first established in the agora. Timæus adds⁸⁰ that this was a conspicuous place where were the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which we know to have stood in the agora.

The scholiast to the *De Corona* of Demosthenes⁸¹ says that the "hieron" of Calamites, an eponymous hero, was close to the Lenaeum. Hesychius words this statement differently, saying that [the statue of] the hero himself was near the Lenaeum. We know that the statues of eponymous heroes were set up in the agora. Here again the new Aristotle manuscript comes to our support, telling us (*Pol.* c. 3) that the nine archons did not occupy the same building, but that the Basileus had the Bucoleum, near the Prytaneum, and that the meeting and marriage of the Basileus' wife with Dionysus still took place there in his time. That the Bucoleum must be on the agora, and that the marriage took place in Limnaean-Lenaeon territory, have long been accepted. The location of the Limnae to the northwest at the Acropolis must thus be considered as settled.

Dr. Dörpfeld maintains that the ancient orchestra and the later Agrippæum theatre near by, mentioned by Philostratus,⁸² lay in the depression between the Pnyx and the Hill of the Nymphs, but considerably above the foot of the declivity.

From the passage of the *Neaera* quoted above we know that the old orchestra could not have been in the sacred precinct of Dionysus Limnaeus, for this was opened but once in every year, on the 12th of Anthesterio,⁸³ while the Chytri and therefore ὁ ἐπὶ Ἀγυαίῳ ἀγών were held on the following day. This involves too that the Pithoigia as well as the "contests at the Lenaeum" could

⁸⁰ TIM. *Lex. Plat.*

⁸¹ DEMOS. *de Corona*, 129, scholium.

⁸² PHILOSTRATUS, *Vit. Soph.*, p. 247.

⁸³ See also THUCYDIDES above.

not have been celebrated in the sanctuary ἐν Λίμναις, though portions of each of these divisions of the Anthesteria were held in the Lenaeum, which contained the Limnaea *hieron*.

The Lenaeum must lie ἐν Λίμναις, and therefore on the low ground. A passage in Isæus (8. 35) is authority that the sanctuary of Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις was ἐν ἄστει; *i. e.*, within the Themistoclean walls. So we have it located within narrow limits, somewhere in the space bounded on the east by the eastern limit of the agora in Ceramicus, south by the Areopagus, west by the Pnyx and the Hill of the Nymphs, and north by the Dipylum.

From the neighborhood of the Dionysiac foundations and allusions mentioned by Pausanias immediately upon entering the city, we may be justified in locating this ancient cult of Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις still more exactly, and placing it somewhere on or at the foot of the southwestern slope of Colonus Agoræus. More precise evidence of its site we may obtain from future excavation; though as this region lay outside the Byzantine city-walls, the ruins may have been more or less completely swept away.

In view of its position outside of the gate of the ancient Pelasgic city, by the wine-press, we understand why the contest in the Lenaeum was called a contest κατ' ἀγρούς. Because enclosed later within the walls of Themistocles, the Limnae were also referred to as ἐν ἄστει. Situated as they were in the territory of the agora, we see why, although the Archon Eponymus directed the City Dionysia, the Archon Basileus presided⁸⁴ over the Anthesteria, and therefore over "the contest at the Lenaeum"; and the agoranomi, the superintendents of the market-place, whose duties were confined to the agora, ἐπετέλεσαν τοὺς χύτρους.⁸⁵

In closing, it may not be without interest to review the picture presented of the most ancient Athens. Behind the nine-gated Pelasgic fortifications lay the city, with its temples, its palace, "the goodly house of Erechtheus," and its dwellings for the people, remains of which can even now be seen within the Pelasgicum. Immediately without the gate stood the Pythium, the Olympieum, the temple of Ge *Kourotrophos*, and other foundations. Directly

⁸⁴ POLLUX VIII. 89, 90. (ARISTOT. ἸΑθην. Πολιτεία.)

⁸⁵ MOMMSEN, *Heortologie*, p. 352 note.

before the entrance, some two hundred paces from the city-walls, was the spring Enneacrounus, whose water was most esteemed by the citizens. Not far from this was the wine-press. Here the people built the first altar, the first temple, the first orchestra, and instituted the first festival in honor of the wine-god, long before the new Dionysian cult was brought in from Eleutherae; and here for centuries were raised every year about the orchestra tiers of wooden seats in preparation for the annual dramatic contests.

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